

X.—*Further elucidation of the lát or Silasthambha inscriptions from various sources.* By JAMES PRINSEP, Sec. As. Soc.

It was one of my principal objects in publishing my hasty reading of the Feroz lát inscription in the July journal, without awaiting the corrections and illustrations of a more matured examination, to draw to me the aid of others whom ability, opportunity and interest in the subject, might enable to throw light upon this highly curious monument. Already am I reaping abundantly the fruits of this expectation, and I lose no time in placing them before the Society.

The first correction in point of importance comes as usual from *Ceylon*, the very *Lanka*, (to apply its own fabulous prerogative metaphorically,)—the very *first meridian* whence the true longitude of all ancient Indian history seems destined to be calculated!

I had ascribed the foundation of these pillar monuments to a king of *Ceylon*, because his was the nearest or the only approach to the name recorded in the inscription. I did so before I had read it through, or I should perhaps have felt the difficulties of such a supposition greater when I found him making roads, digging wells, and usurping other secular authority in a country over which he was not himself reigning. It was but the utter absence of any such name in our Indian lists that drove me to a neighbouring state; one so intimately connected, however, with the *Magadha* court in religion, that there need be no positive impediment to the exercise of munificence by his brother convert on the *Ceylon* throne towards the priesthood of king ASOKA'S Indian *Viháras*, nor to their acknowledgment of favors, or adoption of precepts. When I found another inscription in the *Gaya* caves alluding, with the identical pronomen of *Devánampiya*, to DASARATHA, the grandson of the above monarch, I certainly felt more strongly the impression of the Indian origin of the former; though I still sought in vain for any licence to such an assumption from the pandits and their *puránas*.

The Society will then I am sure participate in the pleasure with which I perused the following passage in a letter just received from the Honorable Mr. GEORGE TURNOUR, our Páli annalist.

“Since I came down to *Colombo*, I have made a most important discovery, connected with the Páli Buddhistical literature. You will find in the Introduction to my *Epitome*, page lx. that a valuable collection of Páli works was brought back to *Ceylon* from *Siam*, by GEORGE NADORIS, modliar, (chief of the cinnamon department, and then a Buddhist priest) in 1812. In that collection I have found the *Dipowanso* or *Maháwanso* compiled by the fraternity at *Anurádhapura* to which the *Maháwanso* refers!! It opens with the passage quoted in the intro-

duction p. lxi. In running over the book cursorily I find the following lines in the sixth *Bhánawáro* or 'Section of 250 lines' in reference to DHAMMA ASOKO :—

Dwé sattáni wassáni atthárasawassánicha, sambuddhé parinibbuté, abhisétto Piyadassino.

After a few lines descriptive of the ceremonies performed at his inauguration, I find

Chadoguttassyan nattánatta Bindusárassa, atrajo rajaputto tádá asi Ujjenikaramolino.*

Here then we find that ASOKA was surnamed PIYADASSI ; and if you will turn to the 5th chapter of the *Muháwanso*, especially pp. 28, 29, you will see the circumstances under which Buddhistical edifices were simultaneously erected all over India. When I have seen your article in the July No. I hope to be able to examine this *Dípowanso* carefully, and if I can see any further ground for identifying PIYADASSI with ASOKA, I will not fail to give you particulars."

The date, (218th) year of the Buddhist era (leaves no doubt whatever of the identity of the party, and the term *nattánatta*, rendered by my pandit *naptur-napta*, great-great-grandson must therefore be wrong. RATNA PAULA also assures me that the verse requires the elision of the first two redundant syllables ; leaving simply *napta*, or *nattá*, grandson. The Buddhist and Brahmanical texts both concur in the successive relationship of the *Magadha* princes down to this point†.

The line as corrected by RATNA PAULA will run thus :

Chandraguttasa yan natta, Bindusárassa atrajo, rájaputto tadá ási, Ujjenikaramolino.

and united with the former passage may be translated :

"Two hundred and eighteen years after the beatitude of *Buddha*, was the inauguration of PIYADASSI. . . . who, the grandson of CHANDRAGUPTA, and own son of BINDUSA'RA, was at that time *Viceroy* at *Ujjayani*."

Mr. TURNOUR has thus most satisfactorily cleared up a difficulty that might long have proved a stumbling block to the learned against the

* The two passages in Sanskrit will run

द्विशतंवर्षाः अष्टादशवर्षाश्च संवृद्धे परिनिर्हते अभिषेकः प्रियदर्शिनः ।

Two hundred years and eighteen years after *Buddha* had attained perfection, (was) the regal anointment of PIYADASSI.

चन्द्रगुप्तस्यायं नप्तृर्नप्ता (more correctly दृढप्रपौत्रः) विन्दुसारस्य अत्रज राजपुत्र तदा आसित उज्जयनीकरमूलिनः

This the grandson of the grandson of CHANDRAGUPTA, and the own royal son of BINDUSA'RA, was at that time the taker of the revenue of *Ujjain*.—J. P.

† See extract from the *Bhágavat Purána*, in a preceding page, 577.

reception of these *lát* inscriptions as genuine monuments of a fixed and classical period, the most ancient yet achieved in such an unequivocal form.

The passage of the *Maháwanso* alluded to above as proving the erection of numerous *Sthupás* and *Viháras* by him is by no means free from exaggeration; but the general facts are certainly borne out by the extensive diffusion of these curious edicts: I give the whole from the indicated page in Mr. TURNOUR'S "Epitome."

The transaction is referred to the fourth year of ASOKA'S reign, nor can I find any thing noted of so late a date as the 27th year, which is sufficient to exclude any actual mention of the erection of the *Silasthambhas*:—

Sutwána chaturásiti dhammakhandáni; sobruwé "pujemi téhaṇ pachchékaṇ vihárenáti" bhupati.

Datwá tadá channavuti dhanakóṭiṇ mahápati purésu chaturásiti sahasésu mahítalé.

Tattha tatthéva rájuhi viháre árabhápayi: sayañ Asokárámaṇtu kárápetuṇ samárabhi.

Ratanattaya nigrodhagilánánanti sásané pachchékaṇ sata sahasañ so adápesi, diné diné.

Dhanéna buddhadinnéna thúpapítija anekaáhá anékésu viháresu anéké akarun sadá.

Dhanena dhammadinnéna pachchayé chaturó varé dhammadharánaṇ bhikkhúnaṇ upanésuṇ sadá nará.

"Having learned that there were eighty-four thousand discourses on the tenets of that doctrine (of *Buddha*), 'I will dedicate' exclaimed the monarch 'a *viháro* to each.' Then bestowing six thousand *koṭis* of treasure on eighty-four thousand towns in *Jambudipo*, at those places he caused the construction of temples to be commenced by the (local) *rájas*; he himself undertook the erection of the *Asokaroma* (at *Pupphapura**). He bestowed daily, from his regard for the religion, a lac separately to the '*ratanattya*' to NIGRODHO, and to infirm priests.

From the offerings made on account of *Buddho* in various ways, in various cities, various festivals were constantly celebrated in honor of '*thupas*.'

From the offerings made on account of the religion the populace constantly bestowed the four prescribed offerings on the priests, the repositories of true religion."

It must be remembered that ASOKA during the reign of his father at *Pátaliputra*, acted as *uparája* or sub-king at *Ujjain*. His supremacy probably therefore extended farther than that of any other Indian monarch. The minute particulars we now possess of his history and of that of his predecessors, through Mr. TURNOUR'S *Páli* authori-

* This town is called *Pápapura* and *Páwápuri* by Jain authorities, (see COLEBROOKE, As. Res. IX.) But the more natural Sanskrit equivalent is *Pushpapuri*, "city of flowers."

ies, will be of essential use in expounding our new discovery, and my only excuse for not having taken the epitome already published as my guide before is, that the identity of *PIYADASSI* was not then established.

I think we shall be able to discover the actual names of many of the Buddhist monasteries now visible by their ruins or by columns still standing: thus the uncouth name read in the *Bhilsá* inscription No. 2 (see p. 458), as *Kokunada sphota*, (or *boda*) *vihára*, may probably turn out to be *Kukkutarama vihára* of the following passage.

Purísanañ dasadhéhi satéhi pariwárito, gañtwána Kukkutárámán sonakathéra uaddasun;

Samápatti samáyannañ nisinnañ sanwutindriyañ wandité nalapantan tan natwá anghama puchchhi tañ.

"Attended by a retinue of five hundred men, having repaired to *Kukkutarama vihára*, they saw there the thero *SONAKO* seated absorbed in the *Samepatti* meditation, with the action of the senses suspended. Perceiving that he was silent while he bowed to him, he questioned the priests on this point."

The *Allahabad vihára* was called *Walukaramo*; that of *Rájagriha*, *Veluwana*, the *Sarun* one probably *Anuradhapura*, that at the capital *Pupphapura*, *Asokaramo*, &c. In three years they were all completed: we may put faith in the following extract:—

Wiháre té samáraddhé sabbé sabbapurésu pi sádhukañ tihí vassehí nitthapésun anóramé.

Thérassa Indaguttassa Kammádhittháyakassatu iddhíyáchásu nitthási Asokarama whayo.

Jinéna paribhuttessu thánesucha, tahiñ, tahiñ, chétiyáni akáresi ramáyán uppati.

Puréhi chaturásíti sahassehi samantató, lékhé ékám anésun wiháre nitthitá i, &c.

"All these individuals in different towns, commencing the construction of splendid *wiháras* completed them in three years. By the merit of the thero *INDAGUTTO*, and of that of the undertaker of the work, the *wihara* called *Asokaramo* was also completed in that time. At the places at which the vanquisher of the five deadly sins had worked the works of his mission, the sovereign caused splendid dagobas to be constructed. From eighty-four cities (of which *Pupphapura*) was the centre, despatches were brought on the same day, announcing that the *wiháras* were completed, &c."

Whole pages of the *Maháwanso* might be quoted bearing upon the various points of the inscription:—thus, the conversion from a sinful life to righteousness, with which the north tablet commences, may be explained either by the circumstances of *ASOKA*'s rise to the throne over the bodies of his 99 murdered brethren; or by his slaughter of the priests at the chief temple, after the seven years suspension of the *uposatha* ceremonies, when the faith was purged;—but for all these I must refer to the work itself. The cause of the addition of *Dharma* to the *Pauranic* name of *ASOKA*, by Buddhist writers, is explained in a very satisfactory line:

Esákókoti náyittha puré pápena kammuná ; Dhammasokoti náyittha pachchhá punnena kammuná.

“ On account of his former sinful conduct (in having murdered his brothers) he was known by the name of ASOKO. Subsequently on account of his pious character, he was distinguished by the name of DHAMMASOKA.”

§ 2. *Duplicate inscription from Delhi. Pl. XLI.*

I now turn to an illustration of my text from another quarter, Major P. L. PEW, has fulfilled his promise of forwarding impressions of the broken pillar lying in the late Mr. W. FRASER'S grounds. I should have made them the subject of a separate note but that really they are so precisely the duplicates of the *Feroz* inscription that it is not worth while to do so. The shaft seems to be mutilated and worn in vertical grooves so that many of the letters in each tablet are effaced. Of the fragments received one belongs to the north compartment, beginning with line 10 (see p. 582):—the next much injured, corresponds with the western tablet, beginning with line 10 (p. 587):—the third and last is nearly perfect; beginning with line 8 of the southern inscription it runs on to the conclusion. The words are separated as in the *Feroz lát*, and from this circumstance I have been enabled to certify a few doubtful readings—although many others are provokingly cut off. I insert a lithographed facsimile of the whole, and annex at foot* all the noted variations of the text, of which proper use can be made when I come to review my labours. Major PEW gives the following particulars of the original locality and present state of the column.

* I may throw the only deviations I can find into the form of *Emendata* thus:—
NORTH INSCRIPTION—in the Roman transcript.

Line 18 for *asinavai*, read *ásinavé*.

19 for *dupaṭavekha*, read *du ? paṭivékhé*.

20 read, *ásinavághámini*.

WEST SIDE—line 10, the letter in chappanti is written ω ; it must, I think, be a *gh*, formed from the ω *h*.

Line 12 for *abhitá* we have *abhítá*, fearless.

17 for *yitahanti*——*yanisanti*, the preceding letters cut off.

18 for *palitikam*, read *pálitikam*.

19 for *nirudhasi*, — *nirudhasi*.

SOUTH SIDE,—line 8, the words are *avadhiye pátakepicha*, and further on *vadhikokute*, &c., quasi बधः ककुटस्य नोक्तैव्यः—‘the killing of fowls is not to be done.’

Line 16 we have *tisu chátummsisu sudivasáye*, &c. in Sanskrit त्रिषु चतर्मासेषु सुदिवसे, ‘in the festival days in the three 4-monthly periods’

Line 17 the very is properly made plural, *nllakhiyanti*.

13 the word *machhe* is evidently separated from *anuposatham* and connected with *avadhiye*; ‘fish unkilld’ is therefore the right reading.

“This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a *boulee* (*baoli*) or well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces, which when put together measure $32\frac{3}{4}$ feet long: the diameter of the largest piece is 3 feet 2 inches, and that of the smallest $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The total weight 372 maunds.

The extreme antiquity of the pillar is vouched by its weather-worn aspect, which must needs be the effect of storms and rains that ran their destructive or beneficial course many centuries ago, since the fragments of this column have only been recently disinterred from the mass of ruin, evidently Hindu, where they had reposed in silence and darkness for ages.

I call the ruins (which are those of a well and its attendant edifices—hewn in the live rock of the hill) Hindu, both from *the style*, which resembles that of the more ancient parts of the *Kutab* and from the *materials*, which in this case also, are *quartz*, of which intractable rock the Mussulmans seldom or ever appear to have attempted the sculpture. The pillar, indeed, is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions. I shall await with some impatience your opinion as to their age and import, and whether their date be anterior to those which have been so unexpectedly deciphered on the *lâts* of FERÖZ SHÄH, *Allahabad*, *Bettiah*, &c. Hindu tradition dwells fondly on the name and exploits of the rája PRITHU or PITHOURA, whose name exists from *Petora-gurh* near *Almorah*, by *Delhi*, down to *Ajmere*, where every thing great or ancient in architecture is referred with one consent to this Indian ‘Arthur.’

§ 3. *Note on the locality of the lâts of Delhi and Allahabad.*

Lieut. KITTOE has favored me with a reply to that part of my papers wherein I called attention to the nature of the buildings at FERÖZ'S menagerie. He also conjectures that the bird mentioned as *ambakapiliká* should be read *ambaká*, (or *amraká*) *pillaka*, the *pilak* or yellow bird of the mangoe, known to Europeans as the mangoe bird, from its appearance when that fruit comes into season; *pilak* is the present native name, from *píla* yellow. MR. TREGGAR also suggests the same interpretation, and I have no doubt of its correctness.

Remarks on the locality of the lâts of Allahabad and Delhi.

The *Allahabad* pillar stood formerly on a stone terrace within the fortress and near the *Jumna* gate; not far from the spot, is a temple (now under ground) called “*Pátál Purí*” (पातालपुरी), in which is the stump of a Banyan tree called “*Achaya Bat*” (अक्षय बट): it is an object of great veneration.

The temple is buried in the accumulated rubbish of ages, which is found in a greater depth than that of the level of the temple foundations.

The present stone fortress, the work of AKBER and of his son JAHÁNGI'R (whose pedigree is engraved on the pillar) occupies the place of some previous Hindu works of brick, few vestiges of which remain.

I think it probable that the pillar occupied its original position till taken down by Colonel KYD during the alterations that were being made.

Though in all probability the *Achay Bat* may be a Buddhist relic it may nevertheless be otherwise, as the Hindus consider the bur (*Ficus Indicus*) as an emblem of SIVA: the peepul (*Ficus religiosa*) of VISHNU; and the pullas or dawk (*Butea Frondosa*) as that of BRAHMA, and venerate them accordingly.

The FEROS SHA'H lát at *Delhi* was placed (as historians assert) in its present position by the emperor FEROS, and I certainly see no reason to doubt the truth of it; the style of architecture of the building, on the roof of which it stands, is of the first or Patháni: the same style pervades throughout the whole adjacent buildings. There are no traces of Hindu buildings anywhere near. There is a large bur tree beneath the walls, on the river face, under which is a tomb of some celebrated "peer" who was put to death by order of FEROS; this spot is held sacred and much resorted to by both Hindus and Musalmans: the tree is very ancient and may have been a holy tree of the Buddhists. The Mahommedans of India venerate the *Bat* almost as much as the Hindus do, which would account for its preservation though other idols would have been destroyed. With regard to the quarries from whence the different pillars were brought, I think it probable they were floated on rafts down the *Jumna*, being cut from the sandstone rocks at or near *Rájpúr* (*Bádsháhmahal*) in the *Sewalik*, a few miles above the site of the sunken city of *Béhat*. I made this observation in the year 1831 when I took an experimental trip by water from *Rághát* in the *Dún* to *Agra*. I believe both láts are of the same kind of stone, the others I have not seen.

A few remarks on the *Kotela* (called by Captain HOARE "a menagerie") may be acceptable.

FEROS SHA'H's palace, called the "*Kotla*" was formerly within the north-western angle of the city walls of old *Delhi*, and was the citadel of that place; one face of it was in former years washed by the *Jumna*, which seldom reaches it in these times except in very heavy floods. The works of this citadel were very extensive; the architecture is clumsy in its style and rough in execution, and has no pretence to

